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tions of importance. It had been so often stated by historians that Calhoun's *Exposition of 1828* was approved by the legislature that such careful scholars as Houston and Herman V. Ames accepted it as true. Mr. Hunt corrects the error (p. 108). Moreover, the manner in which he develops his chapters and proceeds with his narrative shows that he has unusual literary taste and skill, which are so often lacking in American scholars. His concise and sprightly chapter on South Carolina in 1830, not to mention others almost as good, demonstrates the value of these qualities. South Carolina's effervescence, Calhoun's leadership and dogmas are so lucidly and briefly described that dry-as-dusts will be likely to mistake an easy mastery for a graceful superficiality.

Mr. Hunt's best qualities are displayed prior to the end of the Nullification movement. That movement brought out the main features of the Calhoun of South Carolina history; but that Calhoun is to the Calhoun of United States history hardly more than the General Grant up to 1863 is to the Grant of the whole war. Without studying Calhoun in national affairs during the last fifteen years of his life we lose one of the most important examples in history as to how economic interests and subtle dogmas may lead even a high-minded people to destruction. Mr. Hunt has not failed to touch on the leading features of the period 1835 to 1850, but he has rarely done more than that. Here there is also a marked decline in the excellence of his style and in the substance and the skilful development of his chapters. The indications are so strong and numerous as to compel the inference that the author's studies of this period have not been extensive enough to enable him to trace and describe the full meaning of Calhoun in relation to the Confederacy and Reconstruction.

It would be unfair to emphasize this minor deficiency in a biography with many excellencies. What was most needed, Mr. Hunt has supplied—a description of Calhoun so clear and a judgment of him so sane that there is no room for disagreement as to the main features. And excepting a few such slips as the writing or printing of *Williston* instead of Willington (Waddell's famous school), and of Foote of *Alabama* instead of Mississippi, no positive errors have been noticed.

FREDERIC BANCROFT.

Stephen A. Douglas: a Study in American Politics. By ALLEN JOHNSON, Professor of History in Bowdoin College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. x, 503.)

UNTIL recently the number of books about Stephen A. Douglas has been confined to the campaign lives of Sheahan, Flint and Warden, published in 1860, the *Treatise* issued by J. Madison Cutts in 1866, and two slight sketches of recent date. In the voluminous periodical literature of the last half-century, crowded with articles about Lincoln, there is practically nothing at all about Douglas. This neglect has been

due chiefly to widespread distrust of his sincerity, to the fact that, by taking middle ground in the great sectional controversy, he satisfied neither extreme, and to the destruction of his papers, which would have been the chief reliance of the biographer. There are now signs of a reviving interest in Douglas's career and a prospect that he will be given a place in American history commensurate with his influence.

Professor Johnson has had the use of some new material—an autobiographical sketch, lent by Judge Robert M. Douglas, which it is to be hoped may be published in full. He has rescued a few Douglas letters and has diligently utilized all references to Douglas in reminiscent books but his main reliance has necessarily been the *Congressional Globe*. As indicated by its subtitle, Professor Johnson's book is mainly confined to an analysis of Douglas's public life. He has evidently felt that the data for a personal life do not exist and has therefore preferred to limit himself to a task which he could accomplish completely and satisfactorily. Within these limits, there is little fault to be found. Points to be particularly noted are the presentation of the fact that Douglas consistently supported the principle of local self-government from the beginning of his political life, the analysis of the dual constituency in Illinois which necessitated compromise upon Douglas's part and involved him in the logical contradiction that ultimately proved his undoing, and finally the disproof of the commonly accepted belief that Douglas was guilty of truckling to the South. Professor Johnson shows, necessarily in less detail than Professor Ray has done, how the Nebraska Bill was the resultant of factional quarrels in Missouri and controversies over Pacific railroads, Indian titles and territorial government. Its regrettable aspect was Douglas's "attempt to nullify the Missouri Compromise by subtle indirection". The Lincoln-Douglas debates are carefully analyzed but without remark upon their merit. In the opinion of the reviewer, they have been overpraised by Lincoln's biographers and were scarcely worthy of the debaters and of the issues involved. Douglas's last years were little less than heroic and his biographer's enthusiasm increases as he reaches them. There is a discriminating chapter descriptive of his personality, which brings out the finest trait in Douglas's character—his magnanimity. The book ends abruptly with Douglas's death and we miss a final charge to the jury. As a whole the judgments expressed are sound and will command ultimate acceptance. If there is any criticism, it is that the fact is not sufficiently emphasized that non-intervention offered the only possible escape from civil war, that this was Douglas's reason for adopting it and is his best defense.

Some details call for comment. The literary style is good but lacks a certain definiteness which is needed to vivify the issues, the times and the man. In evident anxiety not to overload the pages with dates, Professor Johnson has gone to the other extreme so that it is difficult to fix chronologically many of the events and speeches discussed. The

addition of dates to the *Globe* references in the notes would have rendered material assistance in this respect. Professor Johnson is in error in saying that "the submission of state constitutions to a popular vote had not then (1856) become a general practice", as may be readily ascertained by reference to the table in Judge Jameson's *Constitutional Convention*. The treatment of the Black controversy is somewhat inadequate and inaccurate. This pamphlet war attracted considerable attention at the time. Reprints of the *Harper* article were scattered broadcast throughout the country. Black replied in three pamphlets, Douglas in two, and the controversy was closed by an elaborate defense of Douglas attributed to Reverdy Johnson. Flint does not "give extracts from these pamphlets" but only from the least important—the last by Douglas.

F. H. HODDER.

A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860.

By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: The Columbia University Press. 1908. Pp. xvii, 405.)

THIS is the latest contribution to an important phase of Southern history, which, until recent years, has received comparatively little attention from investigators.

Professor Phillips's point of view is indicated by the following extract from his preface: "Captains of industry and captains of transportation rank in substantial importance near the political leaders of similar merit and service; and the promotive campaigns for 'internal improvements' bear as much significance in the general development of the nation as do many of the campaigns of president-making."

In his introduction, the author divides the ante-bellum South into the following seven "great economic provinces, more or less distinguished by their staples and their natural facilities for transportation": (1) the tobacco region of lowland and Piedmont Virginia; (2) the rice and Sea Island cotton region of the Charleston-Savannah coast district; (3) the eastern cotton belt, extending from the southern edge of Virginia to central Alabama; (4) the western cotton belt, embracing the region from Alabama to Texas and extending as far north as the southern edge of Kentucky; (5) the region of Kentucky and middle Tennessee with its products of tobacco, live stock and grain; (6) the Tennessee-Shenandoah region with the same commodities as the Kentucky and middle Tennessee region but having different transportation problems; (7) the comparatively barren peninsula of Florida.

The volume traces the historical development of transportation in South Carolina and Georgia from colonial days to the War of Secession. Special emphasis is laid upon the last 35 years of the period, six chapters out of the nine in the book being devoted to them.

The author gives a satisfactory treatment of the numerous plans